20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

titude of mysterious, evil forces which he endeavours either to ally himself with, propitiate, or combat in order to assure himself of good luck or avert the many calamities which these supernatural powers may bring. Magical beliefs and practices are therefore widespread and deeply rooted among the people. Even where the church has opposed and tried to counteract the older notions and usages, its success has been at best only partial. What it often has effected was a change in form, or the substitution of an authorized rite for an ancient magical practice.[2] The priest, for example, sometimes takes the place of the sorcerer by holding a special midnight Mass, the *czorna służba* (black service), at the instigation of a person who wishes to harm an enemy.[3] At other times he acts as medicine man, e.g. by stepping over the back of an ailing parishioner in order to relieve his backache.[4] A case of substitution is noticeable in the rite observed before moving into a newly constructed house. Wherever the old practices of sacrificing a black rooster, as an offering to the Devil or as a preventive against disease, has become extinct, its equivalent has appeared in the solemn consecration of the house by the priest.[5]

Among the Ukrainians, as elsewhere, magical beliefs and practices have two main aspects, which may be termed respectively the black and white arts. While the former has its prime source in the arch enemy of man, the Devil, the latter, which functions mainly to counteract evil influences, relies on some powerful medium, sometimes God himself, to neutralize or overcome the

[2] Russian, people inhabiting South Russia. They occupy the eastern section of the former Austrian province of Galicia, which is at present part of Poland. They number approximately 3,000,000 and belong almost exclusively to the peasant class. Geographically, and to a certain extent also culturally, they may be divided into lowlanders and highlanders, the former inhabiting the plains to the north and the latter the Carpathian mountains to the south.

[3] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

[4] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Kuzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 277.

[5] Kaindl, R. F. "Neue Beitraege zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der Huzulen," *Globus*, lxix, 71.

[5] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 282.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

forces of evil. The agents of the former include the witch and the wizard; and those of the latter, the fortune-teller, the soothsayer, the conjuror, and, in cases of sickness, the healer. Between these two groups of "professional" intermediaries between the supernatural and natural worlds stands the ordinary non-professional man or woman, who, by using certain formulas or more concrete means, can also invoke superhuman intervention.

A person associated with powers of evil, though difficult or impossible to recognize by ordinary means, since he usually looks exactly like any other human being, can be singled out much more easily by his actions, and especially by the results he is supposed to obtain. Thus a successful person, it is thought, is necessarily allied in one way or another with the Devil, or his assistants. A man who has luck in hunting or fishing is undoubtedly in communication with the Devil.[6] A woman who repeatedly returns from the woods with her basket full of mushrooms, or whose cow continuously yields more than an average quantity of milk, is nothing but a witch who is using her unholy powers to her own profit and, usually, also the detriment of her neighbours.[7] Indeed, there is not a wealthy or successful person in the village or town who is not in league with the Devil.[8] A peasant, therefore, who has luck with his crops and cattle most likely receives help from evil spirits, and a manufacturer who makes money from his factory in town does so because he has demons to work for him.[9] Thus, although there exist special means of detection, which, as we shall see, are made use of when necessary, mere good fortune is the simplest criterion.

Among individuals occupied with the black art, the witch (*widma*) wields by far the greatest power.[10] Just as after death she becomes the most feared of evil spirits, so during her life she is considered the most dangerous of the Devil's disciples. The

[6] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 12.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 114. [8] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 229, 232.

[9] Onyščuk, A. "Materyaly do huculskoi demonologii," *Materyaly do Ukrainskoi Etnologii* (Lviw, 1909), xi, 73.

[10] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280.

Part II

The White Art: Counteracting Means

The Ukrainian peasant believes that all calamities can be avoided or removed by conjuration, by the use of mysterious concoctions, or by other magical means. Counteracting the work of the Devil and his associates and inducing good luck are the special business of the professional soothsayer or conjuror, but even the ordinary person with no pretensions to extraordinary power can do much in this direction. Without employing the services of a professional conjuror he can, for instance, ward off evil from his cattle, assure himself of good luck in an enterprise, bring harm to his enemies, force a favourable turn in his love affair, foretell the future, and even banish an impending storm from his fields.

Thus in order to protect their cattle from harm, or to alleviate damage already done, on the eve of St. George people fasten brooms on long poles (*wicky*) to their gates as a notification to witches to leave the farmstead undisturbed.[36] The first milk from a cow that has calved is salted and poured into her drinking water. Old horseshoes are scattered around the yard, since it is thought that cattle stepping over them cannot be bewitched. To remove the spell on a cow, she is given a drink of holy water mixed with petals from a consecrated Palm Sunday branch; to make this potion even more effective some sulphur is added. If a cow has been taken sick and the owner does not know the reason thereof, the best thing to do is to "extinguish some coals." The peasant, or the soothsayer in his stead, throws glowing coals into a bucket of water; if they sink, the cow is bewitched. To bring her back to health it is only necessary to spill the water upon a black dog; the malady then passes to the dog, and the cow recovers. So greatly does the peasant fear possible harm to his cattle, that he often refrains from even the seemingly most innocent expressions. Instead of saying, for example, "The milk is boiling," he says "The milk is warming up."[37]

[36] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 124.

[37] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 234-255.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

An excellent illustration of the power ascribed to exuviae is the use of sweat to arouse love. Thus a sorceress sometimes mixes a little perspiration from the sole of a girl's foot with some soot from the chimney, and pronounces a formula over the mixture; if the girl pours this concoction into a drink given to a boy, he will surely fall in love with her and soon marry her.[52]

When a person faces a serious situation and wants to be sure that the means employed are effective, he resorts, as in some of the above-cited cases, to a professional sorcerer (*czariwnyk*) or soothsayer (*prymiwnyk*) for assistance. Of these practitioners, mostly women, the most proficient are thought to be the Gypsies,[53] and especially the offspring of a Gypsy and a Ukrainian peasant.[54] A sorcerer or sorceress is never born but made. A woman who wants to become a sorceress must fast for nine consecutive days, abstain from ablutions and prayer, indeed, renounce completely her belief in Christ, and carry an undeveloped egg under her left armpit throughout the period. She must not, moreover, reveal the secret of her power, lest she lose her skill. On her dying bed, however, she should tell everything to another woman, in order to avoid the suffering of a lingering death which would otherwise be her fate.[55]

The sorcerer or soothsayer foretells future happenings by reading the lines of the palm, by extinguishing coals in the manner already mentioned, and by pouring wax upon water and observing the different shapes it takes.[56] To put an end to malicious gossip,

> a soothsayer is called in, and a lock is handed her. She washes the lock in water, brought by the master of the house, walking backward all the way, from an abundant well, and then closes it in order to put an end to the gossip. In case the latter is very menacing, two locks may be washed and shut. Having closed the locks, the soothsayer sweeps all the dirt and dust of the room into the water, and has the inhabitants of the house take off all their clothes and wash themselves with it. Finally she washes the windows too, and then

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[53] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 291.

[54] Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 236.

[55] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 291.

[56] *Idem.*

787
756 pours the water with all its dirt (the gossip) out through the
791 window.[57]

While the female soothsayer occupies herself mainly with
789 prophesying the future, making love magic, and the like, her
759 counterpart specializes in weather control—in banning hail, thunder, snowstorms, and torrents, and in bringing the rains needed to relieve drought. Even in such cases, however, the ordinary man is far from helpless. Armed with formulas and more concrete means, he can avert a calamity even without the aid of a weather expert. It will be convenient, therefore, to examine the weather lore of the people before turning to a consideration of the professional.

789 The layman, first of all, is much given to predicting the weather,
787 which he undertakes with the greatest of confidence, especially at Easter. On this day he forecasts atmospheric changes throughout the year, and these prophecies are not mere pastimes, but are believed in to the extent of letting them determine important economic activities.[58] Work and cattle trading, for example, are done in accordance with these predictions. If it rains on Easter Day, the whole summer will be wet; fair weather foretells a dry summer, and unsettled weather means that in general a good summer is at hand. Aside from these general prophecies the people indulge in more minute predictions on the same day. If fair weather prevails from 1 to 3 a.m., an early and fair spring may be expected, and the price of hay will rise and that of cattle will fall. If the weather is pleasant from early in the morning until noon, then the approaching spring will be fair and the harvest good; if, however, the morning is fair at first but the sky later becomes overcast, the spring will indeed be pleasant, but the time of the maize and potato harvest will be characterized by inclement weather. Further detailed predictions are made from the kind of weather prevailing during the evening and on the following night, and the work in the fields and pastures is planned in accordance therewith.[59]

789 The layman can also, as already intimated, do much to avert hail or relieve drought without calling upon the aid of the weather

[57] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 276. [58] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iii, 8.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.